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Security Council

Seventieth year

Provisional

7384th meeting
Tuesday, 17 February 2015, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Liu Jieyi	(China)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Chad	Mr. Mangaral
	Chile	Mr. Barros Melet
	France	Mr. Delattre
	Jordan	Mr. Hmoud
	Lithuania	Ms. Murmokaitė
	Malaysia	Mr. Haniff
	New Zealand	Mr. McLay
	Nigeria	Mr. Laro
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Spain	Mr. Oyarzun Marchesi
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Power
	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	Mr. Ramírez Carreño

Agenda

Letter dated 13 April 2014 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/264)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 13 April 2014 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/264)

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Germany and Ukraine to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2015/117, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Russian Federation.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Chad, Chile, China, France, Jordan, Lithuania, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2202 (2015).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to the members of the Council for the unanimous adoption of the Russian Federation's draft resolution in support of the arrangements to settle the Ukrainian crisis reached in Minsk on 12 February.

The events that have taken place during the yearlong conflict in the territory of that country have been truly tragic. Thousands of people have died and many towns and villages in eastern Ukraine have been nearly destroyed. More than a million civilians have left the conflict zone, the vast majority of whom have sought shelter on Russian territory.

We believe that now, following the unprecedented diplomatic efforts undertaken in Minsk on 12 February by the highest authorities of Russia, France, Germany and Ukraine, there is a genuine opportunity for Ukraine to turn this tragic page in its history. We support the high assessment of the adoption on 12 February of the package of measures for the implementation of the Minsk agreements and the declaration of the four leaders. We are fully prepared to facilitate the implementation of those agreements.

All sides must fully comply with the Minsk agreements. We must avoid the adoption of unilateral measures that would clearly contravene the letter and the spirit of the documents adopted in Minsk on 12 February.

Since the very start of the crisis, Russia has actively called for its peaceful settlement through inclusive and transparent dialogue between the sides in the internal Ukrainian conflict and has done its utmost to ensure that an open dialogue is established on fundamental political and constitutional issues. We will adhere to this principled approach in future also.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom voted in favour of resolution 2202 (2015) because of the importance of providing full Security Council backing for the agreements reached in Minsk on 5 and 19 September 2014 and of 12 February this year. These agreements must now be implemented comprehensively and according to the agreed timelines in order to secure a sustainable and peaceful resolution of the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Over 5,400 people have lost their lives in this conflict and over 1.5 million have been displaced. The parties must commit to and invest in this opportunity for peace. We welcome the intensive diplomatic efforts that have brought us to this point, but agreements have been reached before. This time, we must see commitments translated into action and full delivery of the obligations that have been undertaken.

The ceasefire has now been in place for two and a half days. Reporting from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) suggests that it has been respected in the majority of the Donbas. However, intense fighting continues around Debaltseve, where heavy shelling and street-by-street fighting have

resulted in scores of casualties. This flagrant disregard of the ceasefire is deeply concerning and risks undermining the Minsk package in its entirety. The fighting for Debaltseve must stop, and any detained soldier must be treated humanely.

It is totally unacceptable that separatist leaders have made statements claiming that the ceasefire did not apply to Debaltseve, where they were clearly intent on making further territorial gains, and it is deeply concerning that the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission has not been given access to the town. The press statement that the Council has just agreed (SC/11784) makes clear our collective, grave concern over Debaltseve and our unified call for OSCE access.

The actions in and around Debaltseve are not the actions of a party interested in peace. We recall how a Russian-backed separatist offensive brought to an end the ceasefire agreed in September — a cynical effort to undermine the September Minsk agreements and create new realities on the ground. We therefore call on Russia to use its influence on the separatists to cease their onslaught against that town and abide by their commitments. It is vital that the ceasefire be respected in full and upheld across all of eastern Ukraine.

But the ceasefire is only the first step in a series of obligations set out in the Minsk package. We also expect to see the withdrawal of heavy weapons by both sides over the next two weeks in order to create an effective security zone. As the Minsk package makes clear, this process should be facilitated, monitored and verified by the OSCE. It is welcome that the Ukrainian armed forces have already set out their withdrawal plan to the Monitoring Mission. We call on the separatists to show the same commitment to that crucial element of the Minsk package. In parallel, we look forward to progress being made towards local elections, special status legislation, the release of all hostages, and the urgent distribution of humanitarian assistance on the basis of an international mechanism.

The resolution we have adopted today reaffirms resolution 2166 (2014) on the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17, in which the Council demanded that those responsible be held to account and that all States cooperate with the efforts to establish accountability. Let me be clear that the amnesty provided for in the Minsk package does not apply to those who may be found responsible for that dreadful crime.

The Council must scrutinize closely the implementation of the Minsk package and use its influence to prevent any repetition of what we saw last autumn. We call on Russia to deliver on the promises it has made. Russia has committed to the implementation of the Minsk agreements at the highest level. That commitment needs to be reflected in actions on the ground. We also call on Russia to use its undoubted influence over the separatists to ensure that they meet their commitments in full. Until we see such actions, international pressure must remain on Russia and its separatist proxies. The Council must play its full role in ensuring that there is complete compliance so that stability can be restored and to guarantee the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine. That must include regular and close monitoring of the ceasefire and a willingness to take further steps in the event that it is not implemented.

Finally, it will be recalled that this crisis began with Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea. As we approach the first anniversary, we must not let events in eastern Ukraine distract us from Russia's blatant disregard for the Charter of the United Nations through its illegal annexation of Crimea.

Ms. Power (United States of America): We have gotten used to living in an upside-down world with respect to Ukraine. Russia speaks of peace and then fuels conflict. Russia signs agreements and then does everything within its power to undermine them. Russia champions the sovereignty of nations and then acts as if its neighbours' borders do not exist.

Yet even for those of us growing accustomed to living in an upside-down world, the idea that Russia — which manufactured and continues to escalate the violence in Ukraine — has submitted a resolution today calling for the conflict's peaceful solution is ironic, to say the least. It is bitterly ironic, given that the Council has dedicated some 30 meetings to calling on Russia to stop escalating the very same conflict, and given the human consequences that are growing daily.

Even as Russia put forward resolution 2202 (2015), separatists that Russia has trained and armed and whom it fights alongside are laying ruthless and deadly siege to the Ukrainian-held city of Debaltseve, approximately 30 to 40 kilometres beyond lines established by the September Minsk agreements. Throughout the day, we have heard conflicting reports as to whether Debaltseve has fallen. According to press reports, the so-called

road of life leading out of Debaltseve has become a road of death, littered with the bodies of Ukrainian soldiers. At the same time that the Council is calling for the ceasefire that was supposed to take effect at midnight on Saturday, Russia is backing an all-out assault.

We do not know how many civilians are left in Debaltseve because Russia and the separatists it supports have refused to guarantee the safety of impartial monitors from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, who have been trying for days to enter the area — a commitment that, in this upside-down world, Russia and the separatists made on 12 February at Minsk. But we know from credible press reports that thousands of civilians in Debaltseve and neighbouring villages have been sheltering from heavy shelling in dank basements, often without running water, food, electricity or basic medical supplies. We know that many of the civilians left, who are enduring the terror of this relentless assault, are the elderly and small children — people who could not evacuate on their own.

Even with such limited information, we know with certainty that at the same time that Russia signs on to yet another agreement committing itself to de-escalation and peace, forces that Russia trains, equips and joins on the battlefield have only escalated this fighting, grabbing more territory and killing the Ukrainian soldiers who stand in their way. We are caught in a deadly feedback loop. International leaders engage in rigorous, exhaustive negotiations to get Russia to commit to peace — in Geneva, in Normandy, in Minsk in September, in Berlin in February, again in Minsk on 12 February when the implementations were signed, and now in New York — yet Russia's commitments have no bearing on the actions of its soldiers and the separatists they back on the ground.

The United States has maintained the same position across 30 meetings of the Security Council with respect to Ukraine. Let me reiterate that position. We are for peace in Ukraine. We are for Ukraine's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity. We are for ending the violence in eastern Ukraine that has taken more than 5,600 lives since last April and already displaced approximately 1 million people. We are for all of the signatories to the agreements signed in Minsk in September 2014, particularly Russia and the separatists they back, fulfilling the commitments that they have made, and we are for the package of measures for the implementation of the Minsk agreements of 5 and 19 September, and the package of measures endorsed last week by the leaders of Ukraine, Russia, Germany and France.

To be clear, the 12 February implementation package is a road map to fulfilling the commitments made by the same signatories in the September Minsk agreements. President Hollande, President Poroshenko, Chancellor Merkel and President Putin each made that clear when they endorsed the implementation package on 12 February and issued their joint declaration, in which they "remained committed to the implementation of the Minsk agreements". The Minsk agreements in the title — plural — refer to those signed on 5 and 19 September by the same signatories, while the measures for implementation in the title made clear that the 12 February package was designed to begin carrying out the September agreements and not to supplant them, as Russia has now begun to argue.

The United States rejects any interpretation of resolution 2202 (2015) that would abrogate the parties' earlier commitments. All parties must implement all of the commitments made in the September Minsk agreements. The implementation steps agreed upon in the 12 February package include a comprehensive ceasefire, the withdrawal of heavy weapons from the September line of contact, the release of all hostages and the eventual restoration of Ukraine's territorial sovereignty and control of its international border.

Too often debates in the Council occur in a vacuum, removed from the real world. In the real world a man named Aleksey Kravchenko, a 73-year-old in the Ukrainian-held town of Svitlodarsk, near Debaltseve, recently told a reporter that he had spent nights huddled together with his grandchildren in a bomb shelter on his property as shelling continued throughout the night. Aleksey told the reporter that his grandchildren said to him in the shelter "Grandpa, I don't want to die young." He said, "I held my grandchildren and they were shaking, and I looked in their eyes and they were afraid". "With the 12 February agreement, now we are hoping", he also said. The fighting, unfortunately, has in fact increased dramatically near Aleksey's home. But we call on Russia to translate hope into real action, to translate hope into real results — and to do so urgently.

Today's Council meeting is an effort to throw the Council's weight behind an agreement already jeopardized by statements by the separatists dismissing the full ceasefire, by their continued attacks on

Debaltseve and by their refusal, together with Russia's, to allow access to the Special Monitoring Mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. We look to Russia, which manufactured and fuelled this conflict, to leave the upside-down world it has created and to honour the resolution it introduced today in support of efforts to end it.

Mr. Delattre (France) (*spoke in French*): The urgency of the situation in Ukraine calls for action. The conflict has resulted in more than 5,000 deaths in 10 months, including the victims of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17, for which those responsible must answer for their acts, as called for in resolution 2166 (2014). Given a security and humanitarian situation that remains of great concern, our collective responsibility as members of the Security Council is to do everything possible to silence the guns and arrive at an agreement. That is the aim of the courageous and determined approach that the President of France and the German Chancellor have taken in the past two weeks.

We have always believed that the path to peace includes diplomacy. We have always said that the solution to the Ukrainian conflict can only be a political one. With today's resolution 2202 (2015), the Council is putting all its weight and all its authority to silence the guns and chart a course towards peace. As its title indicates, the text concluded in Minsk on 12 February consists of a set of sequential steps intended to implement the Minsk protocol and memorandum, which were agreed, respectively, on 5 and 19 September 2014. They provide in particular for what was and continues to be the absolute priority: the establishment of a ceasefire — which entered into force at midnight on Saturday-Sunday. Full and sustained respect for the ceasefire is the cornerstone for an exit from the crisis.

The speech made by President Poroshenko on Saturday night, in which he gave orders to the whole of the Ukrainian forces to cease fire, confirms Ukraine's commitment to seeking peace. While the ceasefire is universally respected, fighting unfortunately continues, especially in Debaltseve. The fighting must stop immediately, as the Council just demanded in its statement to the press adopted an hour ago (SC/11784).

The Minsk package also calls for the retreat of the warring parties and of heavy weapons, which will make it possible to establish an expanded buffer zone — from 50 to 70 kilometres, in fact larger than the area called for by the Minsk agreements of September 2014. All heavy weapons must be withdrawn within two weeks. This element is an important step towards peace, and it must take concrete form in reality. It is up to the signatory parties to the agreements, including Russia, to give substance to the commitments they have undertaken by their actions. I repeat it here on behalf of France: only actions will count.

By the resolution we have adopted today, the Security Council has endorsed its commitments as did the Heads of State under the Normandy format. Those commitments have thus become obligations undertaken by the signatories to the Minsk agreements before the international community. These are commitments whose scrupulous observance the Council will follow with the utmost diligence. Along with its Council partners, therefore, France calls upon all the parties to lastingly and fully assume their responsibilities to move forward along this demanding path towards peace.

Mr. Oyarzun Marchesi (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): We find ourselves at a crucial moment in the evolution of the conflict in Ukraine. Spain voted in favour of resolution 2202 (2015) not just because we fully agree with its contents, but because we believe that the Security Council, which has very closely followed the conflict, could not remain on the sidelines, especially now.

Since the Minsk protocol of 5 September, there have been thousands of victims — 5,000, in fact, many of them innocent civilians — owing to breakdowns in the ceasefire. The human tragedy in Ukraine is unsustainable, and it is essential to put an end to it. Spain therefore appreciates and welcomes the step taken by France and Germany, an initiative we firmly support.

Last Thursday in Minsk, all the parties agreed to give dialogue a new chance, aware of the fact that the military option was not a solution to the crisis in Ukraine. They therefore committed themselves in this new agreement to put in place a ceasefire, along with the other aspects of the peace process agreed in Minsk last September — which have gone systematically unfulfilled and violated.

As set out in the press statement made public a few minutes ago (SC/11784), we also note with concern that, having entered into force on 15 February, as agreed in Minsk, the ceasefire is not being respected overall. We are concerned in particular about the ongoing fighting in Debaltseve. The parties must fully implement

the agreement reached last week, beginning with an immediate ceasefire in line with the terms agreed. Of course, the success of this new agreement will continue in large measure to depend upon the willingness of the parties. If we want peace, it must be implemented in good faith and completely.

There is no need to recall the gravity of the conflict to peace and stability in Europe. In that regard, I would like to conclude by reiterating that the host of measures agreed in Minsk on 12 February give a very important role both to the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. As a member of both organizations, Spain agrees that both bodies have much to contribute to this process. Of course, we will work responsibly and with determination to ensure that happens.

Mr. Barros Melet (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Chile joined the international community's recognition of the contact group's diplomatic efforts, which have led to the agreement on a ceasefire in eastern Ukraine. We are confident that it will contribute to ending the violence and the humanitarian crisis in the country by providing assistance through an international mechanism.

Resolution 2202 (2015), which we have just adopted, is clear sign of consensus in support of those diplomatic efforts and of the ceasefire for the benefit of the protection of civilians. We view very positively the inclusion of the reference to resolution 2166 (2014) in the adopted text. We are confident that the measures set forth in the 13 points of the agreement reached at the Minsk summit on 12 February will be implemented by all parties for the benefit of the population that has been affected by the crisis.

We emphasize the need to respect the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine. We call on all parties to fully comply with the provisions of the ceasefire in order to guarantee that a sustainable political solution is agreed that ensures peaceful coexistence based on the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, thereby building lasting peace.

Mr. Haniff (Malaysia): I have the honour to make this statement on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the Philippines, as well as on behalf of my own delegation, Malaysia.

We join other Security Council members in welcoming the adoption of resolution 2202 (2015), on the situation in Ukraine. We believe that the adoption of the resolution will convey the Council's — and by extension the international community's — strong support for the steps taken by the parties concerned to implement the ceasefire arrangements agreed on 12 February. We reiterate our full support for all peaceful efforts aimed at resolving the conflict in Ukraine.

The recent developments in eastern Ukraine prove that a diplomatic and political solution is more urgent than ever. In that regard, we particularly commend the diplomatic initiatives that yielded the package of measures for the implementation of the Minsk agreements last week.

The conflict in eastern Ukraine has gone on for far too long and has claimed the lives of far too many innocent civilians, including the 298 souls aboard Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17, which was tragically shot down over the conflict area on 17 July 2014. In the aftermath of the tragedy, the Council responded by adopting resolution 2166 (2014), which, inter alia, emphasizes the need for a full, thorough and independent international investigation into the incident and demands that those responsible for the incident be held to account and that all States cooperate fully with efforts to establish accountability. It also clearly outlines the obligations incumbent upon all States Members of the United Nations to cooperate in that regard to bring those responsible to justice.

The resolution adopted today is unambiguous in reaffirming the Council's demand in resolution 2166 (2014) for accountability for those responsible for the downing of Flight MH-17. We reiterate that this demand remains the international standard with respect to accountability and applies to all States Members of the United Nations, particularly set against the Minsk agreements and the package of measures. In that regard, our delegations welcome the reaffirmation of resolution 2166 (2014) in the present resolution.

In conclusion, we call upon the conflicting parties to fully adhere to and implement the Minsk agreements in line with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and unity of Ukraine. We wish to see an immediate and full implementation of the ceasefire agreement, which could ultimately pave the

way for a sustained political solution and restore peace and stability to the affected areas.

Mr. McLay (New Zealand): New Zealand associates itself with the statement just made by the representative of Malaysia, and we compliment his country on that particular initiative.

It is no secret that over the past four days the Security Council has struggled to negotiate a mutually acceptable text for resolution 2202 (2015). Given the history of the matter, given the bitterness of the conflict and given the active support of troops and materiel that continues to be provided to the separatists, that struggle was hardly surprising. However, those problems should not obscure the very simple truth: that above all our combined objective must be to see an end to the fighting in eastern Ukraine and a genuine and holding ceasefire with lives saved as a result, to see respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to see an end to external support for the separatists. That is the standard by which we have judged this resolution and voted accordingly.

New Zealand really does appreciate the fact that Europeans have at last been able to come together and act together to address this crisis, and, as a result of this resolution, can now be seen to do so with the unequivocal support of the Council. That is what we understand in what negotiating parties sought to achieve in Minsk last week, and indeed in that same city in September 2014. We have therefore supported the outcome they agreed.

We might not like the compromises. We might identify shortcomings. We know that ceasefires do not always hold and, certainly, as events right now in Debaltseve clearly demonstrate, they do not always hold with consistency at all times and in all places. But it has been agreed by those most directly affected. We have now sent a signal of the Council's support for a ceasefire, which is another step towards the long-needed political settlement. We have done so unanimously as the Security Council.

Along with fellow Council member Malaysia, New Zealand has a direct interest in respect of the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17 — a victim of the Ukrainian conflict — an interest we share with non-Council members Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Indonesia, the Netherlands and the Philippines, with whom both countries have actively consulted over the past few days. The Council's previous decisions on Flight MH-17 are absolutely clear, so we welcome the reaffirmation of resolution 2166 (2014), which is the primary statement of the Council regarding the accountability of those who illegally launched a surface-to-air missile at a civilian passenger aircraft, murdering 298 people on board.

We thank the primary sponsors of the resolution for taking up and incorporating the language proposed by Malaysia and New Zealand during the negotiations, thus ensuring that the victims are not forgotten and that those responsible may be ultimately held to account. New Zealand agrees with the United Kingdom that the amnesty agreed in Minsk does not and cannot apply to those responsible for that crime.

The adoption of resolution 2202 (2015) does not take place in a vacuum, which is a point that is implicit in the press statement issued by the Council only an hour or so ago (SC/11784). The Council is keenly aware of the fragility of the present ceasefire, of instances where it is only partly observed and of places like Debaltseve where right now it is being outright ignored so that one side can secure a territorial advantage on the ground, after which they might presumably then make as though they are observing what has previously been agreed. That can only be deplored, but it does not alter the fact that the parties have solemnly agreed and committed to a ceasefire and that it is holding in most places, and that is saving lives.

All of us must therefore continue to urge compliance with the agreement and with resolution 2202 (2015), particularly Russia, as a party to the Minsk agreements, which agreed the ceasefire. It is in that capacity that we call upon Russia to use its undoubted and considerable influence on the separatists to require them to honour that which has been agreed. If that happens, more lives will be saved as a result.

Mr. Laro (Nigeria): Nigeria would like to thank the Russian delegation for the effort it has put into drafting resolution 2202 (2015), which the Council has just adopted. We were pleased to see it receive the support of all Council members. Nigeria believes it is important for the Council to send a timely and unequivocal message in support of the efforts of the leaders of Ukraine, Russia, France and Germany to find a lasting political solution to the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

We urge all the parties to implement a comprehensive ceasefire in line with the Minsk agreements. That is a necessary first step in the search for peace. We stress that there can be no military solution to the conflict

in eastern Ukraine. The parties should pursue a political solution through dialogue. It is important that the separatists' concerns be addressed within the framework of a political settlement that does not compromise the independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

Ms. Murmokaitė (Lithuania): It is with a heavy heart that we voted for today's resolution 2202 (2015), and with a clear understanding of the terrible toll that this uninvited war has imposed on Ukraine. More than 20,000 people have been internally displaced owing to the illegal annexation of Crimea; at least 5,665 people have been killed, some 2,000 of them since the announcement of the ceasefire in September; nearly 14,000 have been wounded and some 1.5 million have been forced to flee their homes. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has warned that further escalation will prove catastrophic for the 5.2 million people living in the midst of the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

Since the announcement of the Minsk ceasefire in September 2014, the militants have grabbed at least 550 square kilometres of Ukraine's territory, and they keep on grabbing more. Their advances have been buttressed by an ongoing influx of Russian arms and sophisticated weaponry, including that brought in under the pretext of humanitarian convoys. In the past few weeks leading to the latest ceasefire, the militant attacks have expanded in the direction of the cities of Mariupol, Kramatorsk, Artemivsk, Shchastya and others. Even as the package of measures for implementing the Minsk agreements was being drafted, reports were coming in of Russian tanks rolling on Ukrainian soil and of more casualties, including among children.

The Ukrainian city of Debaltseve is under siege even as we speak. Ukraine is holding on, trying to defend a piece of its own land, away from the ceasefire lines established in the Minsk agreements. Heavily armed criminals are continuing their onslaught against Debaltseve and are threatening to continue their deadly march up to Kharkiv and further. Yes, the Council must speak out in support of the ceasefire. But we know full well that previous ceasefires, whether declared unilaterally by the Ukrainian Government or established by the Minsk agreements in September, have been repeatedly violated. Even the most recent agreement is already being violated as we speak by Russian-sponsored militants.

Russian tanks, armoured personnel carriers, howitzers and Grad and Tornado multiple-launch rocket systems in the hands of the militants are holding the eastern part of Ukraine captive. Only the most naïve could imagine that the militants could have waged an ever-expanding war without external help. Without Russia's direct support the so-called separatists would have fizzled out, dwindled into non-existence many months ago. Peace would have been restored and thousands of lives would have been saved. Instead, Russia has chosen to sponsor, arm and protect the militants. It is a direct party to the hostilities and bears the primary responsibility for the conflict that is tearing into Ukraine's flesh.

The package that today's resolution endorses is undoubtedly flawed, but it is the only thing we have. For it to work, all the parties involved, including Russia, must honour their commitments, including the Minsk agreements of September 2014, in full and in their entirety. Those agreements cannot be swept under the carpet. The package of measures agreed on as of 12 February is not and cannot be interpreted as a replacement of, or substitute for, the September 2014 accords, only as a set of measures aimed at their implementation.

We know well what needs to be done. Russian troops and armaments must be withdrawn from Ukraine's territory. A viable mechanism monitored by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) must be established to monitor the ceasefire, and militants must stop blocking the OSCE's access. Russia must stop supporting illegal militias operating in the eastern part of Ukraine. Ukraine must be able to re-establish control of its international border without any preconditions. Humanitarian access must be secured and respect for international human-rights and humanitarian law must be restored. All hostages and unlawfully detained persons — including Ukrainian pilot Nadiya Savchenko, a former peacekeeper and the only Ukrainian female soldier who has served with peacekeeping troops in Iraq, now being illegally held in the Russian Federation — must be released, as per the package of measures agreed on 12 February in Minsk.

Peace cannot be achieved without accountability. We have witnessed multiple times elsewhere how impunity breeds more impunity, eventually provoking new cycles of violence. The reports of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights have repeatedly pointed to the extent of the

serious crimes and abysmal state of lawlessness in the militant-held areas. Only this past weekend, photos were circulating of the self-proclaimed militant chief Zakharchenko with beaten prisoners of war, another reminder of the militants' many violations of international humanitarian law. We want to put on record our firm conviction that justice and accountability must be part and parcel of the path out of this devastating, unprovoked war against Ukraine. The perpetrators of the most serious crimes — and to find them we have only to look at the reports of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, which describe many of them — including those responsible for the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17, must be held to account. In that regard, we reiterate our call on Ukraine to complete its accession to the Rome Statute.

After the devastating horrors of the Second World War, Europe has shown remarkable will and ability to pursue the path of reconciliation and peace. What started with Franco-German reconciliation — the European Coal and Steel Community — became a unique model of reconciliation and integration that over time evolved into the European Union of today, a model for democracy, peace, prosperity and human rights whose appeal continues to draw European nations eager to join its ranks. It is reckless and profoundly dangerous to seek to turn the clock back on that spirit of reconciliation, solidarity and cooperation, which gave Europe and the world its longest-ever period of peace. Russia's continued violations of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and numerous other agreements to which it is a signatory, as well as its attempts to redraw internationally recognized borders by force, threaten that peace.

In Minsk, the Presidents of Russia, Ukraine, France and Germany recommitted to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine — although some of those words somehow managed to slip out of today's resolution. We expect that commitment to be respected unconditionally by all, and by Russia in particular. We ask the United Nations to continue its active engagement in seeking a durable solution to this conflict through its good offices, mediation, monitoring of human rights and provision of humanitarian assistance.

Mr. Mangaral (Chad) (*spoke in French*): We would like to commend the Russian Federation for initiating today's resolution 2202 (2015), as well as all the countries that made positive contributions to its final draft. Chad welcomes its unanimous adoption by the members of the Security Council, who once again demonstrated their unity and responsibility in the face of the gravity of the situation in Ukraine, particularly in its eastern region. We appreciate the measures being taken to implement the Minsk agreements, and in that regard we urge all the parties to begin working immediately to put the resolution's provisions into practice in order to arrive at a lasting political solution to the crisis in Ukraine.

Mr. Ramírez Carreño (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela fully supports today's resolution 2022 (2015) because we consider it a very important and fundamental contribution to an agreement on a political and peaceful solution to this conflict. My country supports a peaceful resolution to conflicts in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Venezuela emphasize's that the mediation of the countries in the region and active diplomacy are the path to a negotiated resolution of the conflict. In that connection, we support the fact that the Security Council endorses through this resolution the statement adopted at Minsk on 12 February by the Presidents of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and France and the Chancellor of Germany in support of the package of measures for the implementation of the Minsk agreements. Those agreements should have all the necessary political support for their implementation. We trust in the political will of the Heads of State that made that possible.

Moreover, Venezuela welcomes the fact that this resolution reaffirms resolution 2166 (2014) with respect to carrying out a transparent, full, exhaustive and independent international investigation, in conformity with international civil aviation guidelines, that makes it possible to determine responsibility for the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17 so as to bring to justice those responsible for that heinous act. We call on the parties to adhere strictly to the obligations pertaining to the protection of civilians, including the need to guarantee humanitarian access to provide assistance to internally displaced persons, refugees and other persons residing in the areas affected by the conflict, in accordance with the package of measures for the implementation of the 12 February Minsk agreements.

In conclusion, we do not believe that this is a time for hate, fear or war propaganda. This is a time for peace, political dialogue and diplomacy.

Mr. Hmoud (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): Jordan voted in support of resolution 2202 (2015) because we believe that a political solution is the right way to achieve peace and security and to help Ukraine regain stability. We call on the parties to fully implement the provisions of the September Minsk agreement in accordance with the specified time frame. The Minsk agreement is the main reference point upon which all successive agreements are based. Furthermore, we believe that the package of measures does not in any way alter the provisions of the Minsk agreement.

We call upon all parties to observe the agreements and to implement the measures set out therein. We also call upon them to take the necessary measures to declare a ceasefire and to withdraw heavy weaponry. In that connection, we would like to express our concern about the failure over the last two days to respect the ceasefire in Debaltseve. We also call on the secessionists to put an end to violations of the agreements.

In conclusion, we call on the parties concerned to show the seriousness required to reach a peaceful political solution that allows Ukraine to regain its territorial integrity and independence.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of China.

China supports resolution 2202 (2015), which the Security Council just adopted. The meeting of the leaders of Russia, Germany, France and Ukraine in Minsk resulted in an agreement on a series of important issues pertaining to the Ukrainian crisis. China welcomes that fact and views it positively. The agreement reached by the four leaders in Minsk helps to ease tensions in eastern Ukraine and to promote the process of a political solution to the Ukrainian crisis. The agreement was hard-won and we hope that it will be valued and effectively implemented by all parties.

The Council should also scale up its support so that this agreement can be an important watershed moment in the efforts to de-escalate tensions in eastern Ukraine and help restore peace and stability in the country at an early date. Resolution 2202 (2015), which was adopted unanimously, is an illustration of the international community's support for the fruitful diplomatic efforts of the four leaders and for a political solution to the Ukrainian issue.

In addressing the Ukraine issue, we must stay the course of a political solution. The problem of Ukraine has historical complexities and present realities. A fundamental and long-term solution of this issue must both accommodate the legitimate interests and concerns of all all regions and all ethnic groups throughout Ukraine and address the legitimate concerns of all the relevant parties so that a balance of interests can be achieved. We hope that all parties will make joint efforts to implement the agreement and search for a political solution that is comprehensive, balanced and long-lasting in order to achieve peace, security, stability and development in Ukraine and the region as a whole.

China stands ready to continue to play an active and constructive role in promoting a political solution to the issue.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

Mr. Sergeyev (Ukraine): Let me start with our thanks to you personally, Mr. President, and to the members of the Security Council for today's strong statement on the situation in Debaltseve. I will speak on that issue later.

We are grateful to the members of the Security Council for their continued support of the Minsk process since the first agreements on a peaceful settlement were adopted, on 5 and 19 September. Ukraine welcomes the Council's support for the recent 12 February agreements, which do not substitute for but, rather, reinforce those adopted last Semptember.

The Russian side quite obviously positions itself as a devoted proponent of the peace process and a guarantor of the effective implementation of the Minsk agreements. It even proposed resolution 2203 (2015), which has just been adopted. Yet that is all on paper; what happens in reality is quite the opposite.

Ukraine has demonstrated a responsible attitude to fulfilling the international obligations it has undertaken. The arrangement on ensuring the ceasefire regime starting 15 February has been fulfilled as stipulated in the documents adopted in Minsk and in the Normandy format with the participation of the Presidents of Ukraine, France and Russia and the Chancellor of Germany. Withdrawing heavy weaponry after ensuring an unconditional, comprehensive and sustainable ceasefire — with the assistance and monitoring of

the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the support of the trilateral contact group — was to be the next step.

Unfortunately, despite hopes for a responsible position on the part of all the parties that adopted the 12 February declaration in support of the package of measures on the fulfilment of the Minsk agreements and the signatories to that set of measures — including the Russian Federation and the so-called Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic — there has been a failure to comply with the agreements, and the hope for peace has virtually been ruined. Instead, at the moment there are attempts to return everyone to war and an escalation of the situation.

Yesterday, after telephone negotiations with the President of Russia, the Chancellor of Germany and the President of France, there was an agreement to hold negotiations at the level of the representatives of the general staff of the armed forces of Ukraine, the general staff of the armed forces of the Russian Federation and representatives of Luhansk and Donetsk. Negotiations were held this morning via video teleconference. While restoring the access of the OSCE mission to Debaltseve was to be the outcome of the negotiations, the Russian party blocked the opportunity. Militants in control of Debaltseve have declared the continuation of offensive operations, thereby flagrantly violating all of the previous arrangements and the entire package of the Minsk agreements.

From midnight on 15 February until this morning, Ukrainian positions were shelled more than 160 times — not with small arms, but with mortars, artillery systems, rocket systems and tanks. Eleven servicemen were killed and 36 wounded as a result of those attacks by the terrorists. Yet the Ukrainian military has kept its weapons silent, unless it was under direct attack.

On the very first day of the ceasefire, the Russian side illegally brought the fourteenth so-called humanitarian convoy into the east of Ukraine. As before, that was done without the consent of the Ukrainian side and without activating the international mechanism that the 12 February arrangements clearly envisaged.

I have not mentioned that the number of trucks, as well as their contents, does not match what was declared in the documents. I think it will not be a surprise to any member of the Council to hear that heavy weapons and equipment continue to be shipped to the east of Ukraine. Today at least 12 armoured vehicles and 54 trucks with ammunition broke into Ukraine through the Izvaryne border checkpoint, which the Ukrainian Government currently does not control.

The situation in Debaltseve is incredibly tense. Again with the support of Russian forces and heavy weapons, the militants are incessantly and violently attacking Ukrainian positions in and around the town. Taking advantage of the situation of the Ukrainian military refraining from taking action, in line with the ceasefire, the militants and Russian forces have done their best to surround the town. The militants' ringleader blatantly threatened to kill every defender of Debaltseve unless they laid down their weapons. He also threatened to move westward and seize the city of Kharkiv. Civilians are also falling victim to the indiscriminate shelling of the town by the terrorists.

The cruel assaults on Debaltseve and many other locations essentially make a mockery of the ceasefire concept and undermine the very essence of the peace process. Against that backdrop, we call on the countries participating in the Minsk negotiations — Germany, France and Russia — to make every possible effort to ensure the fulfilment of the Minsk plan based on the 5 September Minsk protocol, the Minsk memorandum of 19 September and the documents adopted on 12 February in Minsk.

We call on the countries Members of the United Nations to express a decisive protest against the blocking of the work of the OSCE special monitoring mission. We also call on the permanent members of the Security Council to prevent further violation of the fundamental principles and rules of the United Nations and avert the unleashing of full-scale warfare in the very centre of Europe.

To become a real contributor to a peaceful settlement of the conflict, the Russian Federation needs to withdraw all of its armed forces from the territory of Ukraine and to secure the Russian-Ukrainian border, as well as to force Russian-backed separatists to fulfil the provisions of the Minsk agreements.

The chance for peace must be used. The unity of the entire civilized world in solidarity with Ukraine gives hope for the restoration of peace.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of Germany.

Mr. Braun (Germany): Germany welcomes resolution 2202 (2015), just adopted by the Security

Council, which endorses the 12 February package of measures for the implementation of the Minsk agreements of September 2014. The Security Council has thus sent a clear signal that it is ready to assume its responsibility at this crucial juncture in the conflict in and around Ukraine to ensure the comprehensive implementation of the package of measures for implementation of the Minsk protocol of 5 September and the Minsk memorandum of 19 September 2014, which remain, in their entirety, the unalterable legal and political basis for the conflict settlement process. We hope that the endorsement of the Minsk agreements by the Council will have a strong stabilizing effect on the situation on the ground and contribute to the strict and full implementation of the ceasefire and to the follow-on political process.

According to current reporting by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, thus far the ceasefire has been largely holding, with the most deplorable exception of Debaltseve, as outlined in the Council's press statement (SC/11784). The continuing attacks threaten not only the ceasefire, they also undermine the political settlement process as agreed upon in the framework of the trilateral contact group and as endorsed by the Normandy format Heads of State and Government in Minsk.

Against that background, today's resolution is of the utmost importance. The resolution conveys a stern message to those who violate the ceasefire. The ceasefire spoilers must know that they are opposing the resolve of the international community.

Germany reiterates its commitment to the sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 68/262, on the situation in Ukraine. I would also like to reiterate our condemnation of the illegal annexation of Crimea, which we will not recognize. It is our clear understanding, in the context of this resolution, that the territorial integrity of Ukraine means territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of the Russian Federation has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Mr. Churkin (*spoke in Russian*): We had hoped that the unanimous adoption of resolution 2202 (2015) and today's discussion in the Security Council, the first since reaching the Minsk agreements of 12 February, would send a unifying signal and pave the way for greater harmony in the Council's work than before on the issue of the Ukraine crisis. Our hopes were partly realized. We continue to hope that this clear, concise resolution will guide the parties towards implementing the decisions adopted in Minsk.

However, we were disappointed by the discussion, because some colleagues decided to begin with their usual rhetoric, which was often offensive. Particularly offensive were the attempts to rewrite the Minsk agreements in these conditions. Some delegations picked out certain parts of the agreement to interpret the Minsk agreements. The situation now is very simple: we need to look at the provisions of the resolution and implement the document as it was adopted, as is the usual fashion.

I should also mention the expression used by Ms. Power in referring to an "upside-down world". She accused Russia of starting the crisis, but did we topple the legally elected President? Throughout all of the events that took place in Ukraine a year ago, Russia continually called for a bloodless political solution. We supported the 21 February agreement. We then insisted on its implementation, even after the lawfully elected President had been toppled.

We supported the 17 April communiqué that called for constitutional dialogue. We supported the initiative by the Chair of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). What was the impetus for the armed conflict that we are seeing? The impetus was the support by certain Western countries of the decision of the Kyiv leadership to militarily suppress the dissatisfaction of the people in the east. They set fire to them in Odesa and burned them alive in Mariupol. They launched a military operation in Donbas and started to send in heavy guns. What is war? War is when there is an attack and there is a defence. That is what we have been seeing in recent times. That is what happened in Debaltseve.

Kyiv could have acted nobly after reaching the 12 February agreement. They could have allowed their soldiers surrounded in Debaltseve to save their lives. Instead, they first denied that they were surrounded, and then they began issuing orders not to lay down weapons. There are certain rules to the game; you cannot let heavy equipment out of a surrounded area because that would simply qualify as regrouping. What we are seeing is a regrouping of Ukrainian armed

forces after the September agreements in Minsk. Such a courageous decision by the Ukrainian authorities could have saved the lives of civilians. Instead, Kyiv preferred to get carried away by patriotic rhetoric and called for actions that have led to the most tragic consequences.

Ms. Power spoke of the difficult situation for civilians in Debaltseve. What about the citizens in Debaltseve who could not leave the city? One's heart bleeds for them. And are the people in Donetsk any better off? Why did she say nothing about them? Ukrainian security forces have been shelling Donetsk for months, but no one seems to be bothered about that. Many other villages and towns have been razed to the ground as a result of the actions of Ukrainian security forces. Why did no one in the West say anything about those situations? We have been flagging those situations all along. For some reason, however, there has been no reaction from our Western colleagues. The September Minsk agreements have not been upheld as we initially hoped because the shelling of towns has continued. The OSCE monitors therefore need to do their work, including in and around Debaltseve. For that to happen, however, safe conditions must be established. We all must recall that these are unarmed people. Yes, they are in armoured cars, but without certain minimum security conditions they cannot effectively control or monitor anything.

To be honest, I am surprised that our Ukrainian colleague today returned to the issue of the 14 humanitarian convoys. Convoys have saved hundreds of civilian lives in Donbas and Luhansk under shelling, while being surrounded and subject to the active blockade established by the Ukrainian authorities against the people of those cities. We have always Kyiv to cooperate with us in organizing the convoys. Each and every time they have refused to cooperate; I believe that the Ukrainian customs officers inspected the convoys only once. We will not allow anyone to play games with these issues. Kyiv needs to help us save people's lives. People need to get through the winter. Russia has been providing aid, and we are very satisfied and pleased with the assistance we have been able to offer.

Two colleagues mentioned Crimea. I have just one word to those statements: 93. Recently, a German public opinion group conducted a poll among Crimean residents and came to the conclusion that 93 per cent of the people in Crimea supported unification with Russia. In addition, 82 per cent said that outright; 11 per cent said they would prefer it; 4 per cent were against it. That is even slightly more than the percentage in favour in the referendum on Crimea's unification with Russia. With regard to territorial integrity, resolution 2202 (2015) confirms the territorial integrity of Ukraine — and this in February 2015.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of the United States has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Ms. Power (United States of America): I just want to be clear in response to my Russian colleague that the United States wholeheartedly welcomes the agreement. We will do all we can to support it. But if Russia is committed to peace, it does not need a Security Council resolution to prove it. There are actually easier ways to prove it. Russia could stop arming the separatists; stop sending hundreds of heavy weapons across the border, in addition to Russian troops; stop pretending that it is not doing what it is doing; and start calling on and insisting that the separatists observe the ceasefire around Debaltseve. Resolution or no resolution, what matters is fulfilling the commitments that have been made now multiple times. I assure him that we will be the first to take notice, and it will actually be very easy to see whether or not the commitments are being met.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of the Russian Federation has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I am glad to hear that the United States is not going to prevent the implementation of the Minsk agreements. With regard to the implementation of the Minsk agreements and the statement about Russia repeating certain previous arguments, we are not pretending anything. We proposed a certain course of action. No one listened to us. We warned about the consequences. Sadly, those consequences are what they have been. This has all been happening on our borders. We made our choice, as set out in the Minsk agreements. I hope that those agreements will be duly delivered on.

I hope that peace can be restored in Ukraine and that there can be social consensus in the country — which has not existed for a very long time now, not even before the past year when the President was toppled. That is what we need to work on, which Kyiv, for some reason, has not wanted to do. For instance, one can see the disgust over the new national holiday, which was declared on the same date that they established collaboration

with the pro-Nazi army. They have said nothing about setting up a new Constitution — a genuine pity. That is what Russia had already warned about. Let us look at the situation clearly and objectively.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of Ukraine has asked for the floor to make a further statement. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Sergeyev (Ukraine) (*spoke in Russian*): What has been called the unification of Crimea should really be called occupation and annexation following an aggressive attack. We shall discuss that further.

What was said about humanitarian convoys is a challenge to international law, which defines arrangements for supplies of humanitarian assistance to a second country. In today's statement by the representative of Russia, international law was once again trampled all over. They have their law and they know how to use it.

As to a constitution, we reject anything that smacks of Russian interference. Russia has been trying to tell us how we should develop and what our constitutional order should be — what the next Constitution should look like. Everything was clearly stated to our people.

With regard to the eastern regions, as well as elsewhere, work is under way on decentralization and expanding the powers of local authorities.

Therefore, once again, I ask that Russia not interfere in our affairs. We will decide for ourselves how to live, what to build and how to establish dialogue with our own people.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of the Russian Federation has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): If Ukraine needs to find a way for dialogue it should do so at last. But they are unable to do so. That is why we keep saying, let us establish dialogue with the people in the east. But Ukraine says that we are interfering. They are asking us: What do the people in the east want? We say that the people in the east want federalization. They should therefore go and find that dialogue.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of Lithuania has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Ms. Murmokaitė (Lithuania): There is a pattern in this repeated taking of the floor, and usually there is one delegation that ends by taking the floor three or four times. We rarely do that, but this time I have a couple of comments. First, it is not easy for any country, be it Ukraine or any other country, to work on a constitution in conflict or at gunpoint, where there are so-called self-defenders, which is the way Russia has consistently referred to the illegal bands of militants and criminals who are better armed than many European armies.

Lithuania has no tanks — not a single one. Estonia, Latvia and so many other countries in Europe have not a single tank. How is it, then, that there are hundreds of tanks in the hands of the militants? There are hundreds of Tornados, howitzers, or whatever they are. This does not make any sense. Those things do not drop out of the sky, so somebody is supplying them. In looking at the geography, those things can come only from one direction, where the borders are completely porous and far from international eyes.

We do believe, and in our national capacity we have been telling and will continue to tell Ukraine, that it has to continue with the reforms, that it has to combat corruption and that it has to do a lot of things in order to restore the trust that had been lost over the decades, prior to this Government. But it is very difficult to take care of a constitution when guns are pointed at your head.

The other thing that struck me was basically a phrase about how Kyiv could have nobly capitulated and allowed the troops to leave. I wonder how many countries represented in this Chamber would be happy to capitulate their own city, surrounded by illegal militants, bandits and insurgents — whoever they are — far from any ceasefire zone, and to just give up part of their territory and leave, nobly?

I think it is very cynical to talk of the noble potential of the Kyiv authorities to leave and withdraw their soldiers, and of Kyiv having missed that opportunity. It is their territory and they are defending their territory. That territory is excluded from any ceasefire agreement reached at either of the Minsk negotiations. It is their own territory, and I think that any country represented at this table would do exactly the same. Any country represented here would defend its own territory to the last, and Kyiv is no exception.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of the Russian Federation has asked for the floor again.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I would very much like to have left the last word to my Lithuanian colleague; I would have loved to, if I could. I am probably abusing my speaking time, but after what she said I cannot help but respond with a couple of words. "Capitulate one's territory." Has the full meaning of the Minsk agreements been understood? Everything that we are talking about concerns the reintegration of Ukraine. How significant is it where the line is drawn in such conditions?

In recent months, the problem has been that the Ukrainian security forces have been shelling towns. They had to be pushed back from Donetsk so that they could not shell the cities. But with all that bloodshed, if Ukraine is to be reintegrated, is there a desire to draw a new State borderline? In that case, let us draw a new State borderline and then we can address that issue.

Now, as to the issue of weapons, Lithuania is, I believe, the only State that has sincerely and officially stated that it is supplying weapons to Kyiv. Perhaps the militia could also be provided with some of those Lithuanian weapons?

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): Our meeting today is not an open debate. With that, I now give the floor to the representative of Lithuania.

Ms. Murmokaitė (Lithuania): We have a tiny army and very small reserves of weapons. It is not exactly right to suggest that Lithuania is providing armaments to Ukraine. We have provided medical assistance; we have taken wounded Ukrainian soldiers into Lithuanian hospitals. That is true. However, it has nothing to do with all of the heavy weaponry that has been provided — we know from which side. So let us not compare forces, because Lithuanian forces — and we can revisit statistics next time — certainly have nothing to do with that. Even if we did provide some armaments, it would be a drop in the ocean. It would not make a difference.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The representative of Ukraine has asked for the floor again. I give him the floor.

Mr. Sergeyev (Ukraine): I am sorry, Mr. President, but what we have heard from our colleague is unacceptable. Our leaders met in Minsk and they made very clear statements. They supported very clear provisions, and we cannot agree with the interpretation of the Minsk agreements that has been heard from the Russian side. I am so sorry, but we are not here to launch a third round of Minsk negotiations and reinterpret what our leaders agreed upon.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I give the floor to the representative of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The members of the Council have continued to provoke me. We are not interpreting anything. We are taking the Minsk agreements and interpreting them word by word, and we think that everyone should read the document word by word and implement it.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.